Chapter 13(2)
The Statute of Ṣan'ā'

Documents Additional to the Statute (*Qānūn*) of Ṣan'ā'

1. *Ordinance to Regulate the Sale of* qāt

Al-Sayāghī in his typescript summary[1] of *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* has inserted two interesting additional pieces, one of which has to do with trading in *qāt* and is dated in the latter half of the 18th century. It is taken from an ordinance (*marsūm*)[2] of the Shaykh al-Islām of his day, the very learned Qāḍī Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ al-Saḥūlī,[3] and runs as follows.

> When the 'detriment' (*taḍurrur*)[4] to the generality of Muslims much increased, and the cause of the (said) 'detriment' was determined by the devout persons of those elected,[5] and many of the respected ulema and governors[6] got to know about it—namely, about the business of the *qāt* tree imported (*majlūb*) from 'Āfish[7] to the Protected City (al-Madīnat al-maḥmiyyah)[8]—as, too, powerful persons have monopolised[9] the best imported picked (*maqṭūf*) (*qāt*), so it became impossible for the weak (*ahl al-ḍu'f*) to obtain any of it—I mean the good quality—and the importers (*jallābūn*), comprising some of the owners (*mālikūn*),[10] agents[11] (*wukalā'*), and those who gain a livelihood (through selling) it (*mutasabbibūn*), persisted in adulterating inferior with good quality (*khalṭ al-ḍa'īf bi-'l-laṭīf*), thinking fit to sell (it at a high price) and to divert[12] imported wares (*jalā'ib*)[13] from the Market—which is the Table[14] of God, Perfect is He.[15] Diversion of imported wares (*majlūbāt*) from markets is one of the things most highly 'detrimental' to Muslims, and al-Muṣṭafā al-Amīn (the Prophet) and his Caliphs forbade it—as is clearly demonstrated in history (*al-athar*).
>
> Laxness has also occurred in the townsman selling on behalf of the countryman (*bay' al-ḥāḍir li-'l-bādī*),[16] (the vendor) seeing fit to withhold good quality *qāt* and to (demand high) prices.[17] To such an extent (has this become so) that he (i.e. the *jallāb*, importer) has fixed (*taqarrar*) that *qāt* picked for import to Ṣan'ā' is recorded[18] at 'Āfish in the handwriting of the Imām al-Miḥrāb[19] of the Jāmi' Mosque of 'Āfish after (the Imām) has received an assurance[20] from him (the *jallāb*, importer), and he makes containers with stamped papers (*ḥawāfiẓ maṭbū'ah*) (with a note of) the amount imported each day and night (successively),[21] all arriving at the Market; this he displays (in Ṣan'ā') to the honest man of integrity (*al-'adl al-amīn*) in charge of the recording (*raṣad*) (there).
>
> Let none of it be directed to the Market (until the *amīn* has seen it), and when it does arrive, let each piece of it be priced at the price it customarily bears in respect of the time, the quality of the goods, or the scarcity of them.
>
> If anyone of the owners or agents bringing it in wants to attend to the selling and importing of his *qāt* himself in person, let him do so. Whatever the Market people, the *qāt*-retailers (*maqāwitah*), buy to retail for a livelihood, let the customary profit, and no more, on a given piece[22] be ascertained[23] at the recording (*raṣad*) with relation to the price at which they purchased it, just as the price is ascertained in the case of other goods. Let the prices for the top, middling and inferior qualities each be in accordance with its grade. Let

1 See p.179a. A number of typing errors has been encountered in the summary, most of them fairly obvious, but one cannot therefore be absolutely certain of the text.
2 Qāḍī Ismā'īl paraphrased *marsūm* here as a *balāgh*, communication.
3 This personage does not appear in the printed biographies consulted.
4 Cf. pp.72b, 125b, 164a, 174a, passim.
5 Probably the shaykhs and *'āqils* of the Market or the Sūq al-Qāt. Perhaps *ikhtibār* might be read for *ikhtiyār*, 'men of experience' rather than 'elected'.
6 *Al-'ulamā' wa-'l-ḥukkām al-mu'tabarīn.*
7 'Āfish of Bilād al-Rūs district is known to have been the only place where the *qāt*-tree was planted at this period (al-Sayāghī).
8 Ṣan'ā', see p.40a.
9 Reading *istabadda* for *istabdala*. By powerful persons is meant persons of position who are offered the good quality *qāt* for sale.
10 Owners of *qāt* plantations.
11 By agents intermediaries (*wasā'iṭ*) for exporting or selling to the towns, are meant.
12 Arabic, *al-'udūl bi-*, explained as *al-taḥarruk bi-*. Al-Saḥūlī seems to mean that they hold back good quality *qāt* from the market.
13 Sing., *jalūbah*.
14 An allusion to the saying, *'Al-aswāq mawā'id Allāh fa-man atā-hā aṣāba min-hā*, Markets are God's tables and he who comes to them receives from them.'
15 This sentence seems to have no conclusion to the introductory 'When'—perhaps it should be rendered as 'Whereas'.
16 Qāḍī Ismā'īl said that *al-bādī* was the person who *yibdā bi-'l-shirā'*. See p.164a.
17 Interpreted as leaving the good quality to the end and selling the inferior first.
18 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah*, I, 155, no. 421, *raṣada, yarṣidu* means *sajjal*, to record, and an account-book is *raṣad*. The sorts (*ṣinf*) and prices of *qāt* will be so recorded. Cf. the *Qānūn*, f.n. 185. Perhaps the practice of registering *qāt* at 'Āfish and not at the Ṣan'ā' market is disliked.
19 I.e., the leader of the prayer, a respected person.
20 *Ba'd al-akdh 'alay-hi.*
21 A constant supply of *fresh qāt* to the market is maintained.
22 I.e. the bundle of known size, weight, quality, and value.
23 *Yu'raf*, which might mean rather 'be made known' than 'ascertained'.

what has been registered (*suṭṭira*)[24] as being in the hands of every retailer of the *qāt*-sellers each day be ascertained, and let him be made to display it to the purchaser without concealment from them, each one in turn (*li-'l-awwal fi 'l-awwal*) of those who come to buy, not admixing (bundles of) good quality with poor quality (*ḥashw*).[25]

The standard weight of the bundle (*mīzān al-marbaṭ*)[26] is fixed at ten *waqiyyahs* clear of fraud, anything of lesser weight fetching a lesser price proportionate to the amount by which it is short (of that), so that the (standard) weight is secure against deficiency (*khalal*).

Whosoever withholds back any imported *qāt* from the Market will be punished, and anyone selling poor quality at the price of good quality (*qāt*) will be fined (*uddiba*).

Notwithstanding (the afore-going regulations) the owners (of *qāt* trees) are under no compulsion (*ijbār*) to pick before they consent to do so of their own accord.[27] No new practice (*bid'ah*)[28] or introduction of a levy (*iḥdāth gharāmah*) shall be imposed on them, neither shall a price be arbitrarily imposed upon them or by them—only the customary approved price (will be adopted). Concluded and date year 1189/1775-6.

2. *Butchers and the Ṣan'ā' Meat Market*

Yemeni historians say little more about butchers than they do about other trades, yet the occasional notices scattered over those Yemeni authors we have read, do add a little to the *Qānūn.*

Al-Rāzī,[29] writing in the first half of the 5th/11th century indicates the extent of Ṣan'ā' from east to west in the words, 'from the dam (*sadd/sidd*) of Mount Nuqum, i.e. Ṭalḥat al-Ḥaddād (the smith's *ṭalḥ*-tree), to the Butchers (al-Jazzārūn).' This may be interpreted to show that the butchers had their market west of the city, probably in open ground there. It is tempting also to see in Maṣra' al-Jazzārīn,[30] i.e. the Slaughter-Place of the Butchers, where today (al-Rāzī's day) oil is sold, a sort of abattoir. The early Arab authors however, while attributing it to the pre-Islamic Sām b. Nūḥ, this of course clearly legend, see in the name a site where pre-Islamic or Islamic martyrs met their death. The editor[31] of al-Rāzī's history suggests that this place was located about the area of the later Masjid al-Shahīdayn, north west of the present-day Ṣan'ā' Sūq.

'In 1063/1653 or the year after it the abattoir (*majzarah*) in the town of Ṣan'ā' was transferred to Bāb al-Yaman, and a record (*sijill*) was made for that and to rectify it (*istiṣlāḥ*) over which the *faqīh* Muḥammad Effendi exerted himself, and the notables of the Ṣan'ā' people were written in it. Its location had been the Firewood Market (Sūq al-Ḥaṭab).'[32]

It is likely that, as Ṣan'ā' developed, the abattoir(s) were moved on more than one occasion, but the abattoir today is still outside Bāb al-Yaman, though animals are said to be slaughtered in several places, as well of course as at private houses, especially at the 'Īd al-Naḥr. Al-Hamdānī[33] has pointed out that the climate of Ṣan'ā' is so temperate that meat may remain with the butcher two, three and four days without going bad.

At al-Shahārah, the Imām al-Qāsim in 1029/1619-20, 'went out on a certain day to the market and saw the butchers spreading out meat to dry in the sun (*musharriqin*) upon wooden boards (*ṣurūf*).[34] This he ordered to be seized. He was spoken to about that—to which he replied that meat if it be left in the sun and then eaten induces leprosy (*judhām*)'.[35] Like al-Hādī at Ṣa'dah in the early 10th century A.D. this Zaydī Imām, with his power confined within small compass and his attention not directed to more momentous affairs of state, evidently did not leave matters so trivial as this out of his notice.

Though a direct command of an Imām might thus set up a regulation, a ruling in south Arabia would more commonly emerge as the result of a dispute between two parties, and al-Sayāghī has brought to light the record (*raqm*)[36] of a decision by Qāḍī Yaḥyā b. Ṣāliḥ al-Saḥūlī,[37] the Shaykh al-Islām of his day, dated 1055/1645-6, on what took place between the tanners (*dabbāgh*) and butchers (*jazzār*). This, he affirmed, was to guard the general interest (*al-maṣlaḥat al-'āmmah*) and in order to avoid inflation (*mughālāh*) in prices.

'He ruled that any butcher (*min ahl al-jizārah*) who purchases what he (later) slaughters in the Market shall receive only the skin and head, plus two *kabīrs*[38] on the basic price (*aṣl al-thaman*) at which he purchased the animal for slaughter, and no more—this being by way[39] of fee. He is in an identical position to (a butcher) ordered to negotiate the purchase of it, take it into (his) possession, slaughter it, skin it and divide it among people. The man to whom the skin and head are assigned disposes of them as he wishes, and is not obliged to hand them over to those of the tanning craft,[40] unless it be by mutual agreement and at the customary price. Any tanner who wants to purchase (an animal) such as that and have it slaughtered in the Market (by the butcher) is in no way prohibited from doing so, but he is entitled to and liable the same (as has been set out) above. The two groups (*farīq*), butchers and tanners, take this document (*rasm*) as a basis and act in accordance with what is written in this record (*raqm*).'

Butchers, as already noted,[41] always receive the skin, and sometimes evidently the head also, for slaughtering, but the tanners who could use the skin must have wanted to have it handed over to them with the carcase as a part of it. The butchers on the other hand would naturally not consent to the loss of their traditional perquisite. This document confirms moreover that the practice of sharing (*mushārakah*) the purchase of a beast for slaughter was current in Ṣan'ā' at that time.

This custom which still exists in the country tribal districts is known also as *shirkah,* and it was described to me as follows. When several persons wanting meat take shares in buying a young sheep-or-goat (*ṭaliyy*) the butcher, being expert in the division of meat, divides it up equitably between those sharing in the cost. The butcher receives his perquisite of head and skin (*min ṣāliḥ al-jazzār al-rās wa-'l-jild*) in addition to his fee—which would be more or less proportionate to the size of the beast. He might for instance, ask for five *riyāls,* and the conversation would then run, The owner(s) of the lamb, 'No, my brother, not five *riyāls*! Let's make it four.'[42]

24 Properly *ṣuṭṭira* with *ṣād.* This information would be sent to the head of the *qāt*-retailers (*ra'īs al-maqāwitah*).
25 *Ḥashw* is explained as *yuḥshā bi-'l-ṭayyib min al-ḍa'īf,* some inferior being mixed with the good quality.
26 *Marbaṭ,* syn. *'uṣbah.*
27 It looks as if this provision is intended to allow the owners to sell to the other groups the poor or medium qualities first if they so wish.
28 *Bid'ah* is *ghayr ma'rūf,* not fixed by custom.
29 *Tārikh madīnat Ṣan'ā',* 180, 574, *passim.*
30 Ibid, 27.
31 Ibid, 574. Ibn Rustah, *K. al- A'lāq al-nafisah,* edit., M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* VII, Leiden, 1892, 111, 'There is a great arched building (? *ṭāq*), the arch made of stone, near 'The Butchers' (al-Jazzārūn) of which its (Ṣan'ā''s) inhabitants say that in this place, in the first time (early times) were slaughtered sixteen Prophets,' Ibn Rustah wrote about 290/903.
32 *Ṭabaq al-ḥalwā,* 27b. I am not very sure of the translation. Cf. *Nashr al-'arf,* II, 959, for selling meat at Bāb al-Yaman.
33 *Ikīl VIII,* edit., al-Kirmilī, 10-11.
34 Cf. the *Qānūn,* section 20, *Sup.,* a. Qāḍī Ismā'īl cites a proverb, 'A turban on a piece of wood upon which meat is cut (*'imāmah fawq jazfah/jasfah*).'
35 *Ghāyat al-amānī,* II, 814.
36 Explained as, *mā yurqam fih min muḥākamah aw ittifāq,* etc. This is the second piece added to the *Qānūn* in al-Sayāghī's typescript.
37 Cf. p.86b passim.
38 I.e. the *dirham kabīr.*
39 Reading *bi-ma'ābati* for the text's *bi-mā' iti.*
40 Reading *mihnah* for the text's *mihnati-hi.*
41 See *Qānūn Ṣan'ā',* section 20, ii.
42 *Yiqūl ṣāḥib al-ṭaliyy 'Lā, yā akhī mush khamsah riyāl! Khallī-hā arba'ah riyāl.' Yiqūl al-jazzār, 'Khallī-hā qabyalah.' Inda-mā yiqūl al-jazzār, 'Qabyalah', yidfa' lah niṣf riyāl 'alā mā qāl al-jazzār min awwal. Al-jazzār, 'Lā turājil-nīsh—kamā tiḥibb tidfa' dafa't.' Qbyalah,* properly meaning something like chivalry, tribal honour, seems to be used here in the sense of—as you wish—I leave it to you.

When the butcher says '*qabyalah*', he (the purchaser) gives him half a *riyāl* over what the butcher said in the first place.
The butcher then says, 'Don't bargain with me. Pay what you wish.'

The lamb (*kharūf*), said Qāḍī Ismā'īl, would be divided up into halves, quarters and eighths, and each person partaking in the purchase of the animal would take what he needs. This gives rise to the proverb,[43] '*Ishrak min al-tays wa-ridd al-qirsh,* Take your share of (i.e. buy) the goat and hand over the money for it.' This is said to a person who wants to get something for nothing!

In present-day Ṣan'ā' the custom seems to have disappeared and a *shārikī* now merely means a customer, as in the proverb, '*Al-jazzār yi'rif wajh al-shārikī,* The butcher knows his customer's face.' That is to say the butcher gives each customer meat according to the way in which he has sized him up—to the sharp intelligent man the best portions, to the poor man the most inferior quality he has. Another of the Qāḍī's proverbs runs, '*Al-rajjāl yibān min shirkat-ih,* A man's manliness[44] appears from the meat (he brings home).' A man, that is, who brings back good meat from the butcher and is given the proper weight of the amount for which he asked—but if the butcher cheats him, giving him short measure and poor quality, then he is a weak personality (*ḍa'īf al-shakhṣiyyah*) and unmanly. In al-Mashriq they say, 'He who doesn't know butcher meat (*shirkah*) is pleased with the tail-bone (*bu'ṣūṣ*).'[45]

Goitein's notes[46] made prior to 1934, throw interesting light on conditions in Ṣan'ā' at that time. 'When they buy (*bishārikū*) a *raṭl* of beef (*baqarī*) for six *buqshahs* (somewhere about 3d. in sterling then) the *raṭl* of mutton (*ghanamī*) costs a quarter (*riyāl* (10 *buqshahs*)), and goat-meat (*ma'z*) costs four—less than beef—with the proviso that when three or four cows are slaughtered they are not all one price—each has its own price. The (official) price-fixer (*musa''ir*) inspects them standing, during the day, and (next) morning they slaughter them and he comes round to inspect the meat and prices (*yusa''ir*) each one at what it is worth.' The man who fixes the price would, one imagines, be a Muslim from the leading men of the butchers as laid down in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*,[47] but a rather laconic note of Goitein's states that in Ṣan'ā' it is the Chief Rabbi—he must intend this to be for the Jewish community only.

From *Jemenica*[48] several sayings may be quoted to show the Yemeni's distaste for beef as opposed to mutton, presumably shared by the Jews with the Muslims. But for onions and garlic (*thūm*) beef (*al-baqarī*) would bring leprosy (*jadham*). The best beef neither harms nor helps (*afkhar baqarī lā yiḍurr wa-lā yinfa'*). The *qashshāms* (sit) by the door of the butchery (*al-majzarah*)—one does not buy meat (*yishrak*) without onions to take back along with the meat (*shirk*) to the house.

For love of meat, an Arab proverb runs, I would eat the leather bag (in which it is brought back from the market), '*alā maḥabbat al-shirkah shā-kul al-masabb*![49] The Yemenis speak of a '*shirkat faqīh*'—a *faqīh*'s portion of meat—because the *faqīh* is intent and eager to get the full amount of meat he wants, with no shortage in weight, and the butcher's dog[50] (*kalb al-majzarah*) is, in Ṣan'ā' as in other countries, a fortunate animal![51]

For reasons unknown, butchers have generally names like Mus'id, Sa'īd, Sa'd, all to do with 'happiness', but they would not have names like Qāsim etc.

Today the district known as Baḥr Rajraj in the eastern part of Ṣan'ā' is the place where the butchers and those plying other menial tasks reside. It has not a very good reputation for people say, '*Sharibt min Baḥr Rajraj,* You've drunk from Baḥr Rajraj.' That is to say, '*Ta'allamt al-wiqāḥah,* You've learned to be insolent.' You have been brought up in the Baḥr Rajraj Quarter[52] and learned its language and ways.

13(2).1 Preparing meat on the outskirts of the city.

3. *Silversmiths*

i. The Mint and Jews

That the Jews were silversmiths in south west Arabia is well known, and it is averred that even the silversmiths in Ḥaḍramawt are the descendants of Jewish converts to Islam. This is quite possible as the families working silver there in 1948 had names which could indicate either a Jewish or Arabic origin. Brauer[53] alludes to a Jewish poet in the latter half of the 16th century who worked as a silversmith, but it can safely be assumed that they were established in this craft in the Yemen centuries before that. Yet it would be an error to suppose that they had a monopoly of the

43 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah,* I, 170, nos. 468-9. He explains the imperative *ishrak* as, to buy meat.
See also the interesting piece entitled *al-Jazzār* in C. de Landberg, *Ḥaḍramoût,* 378, seq., 620. *Jemenica,* 157, no. 1204, gives *nawb* as 'a share of meat' in the tribal areas.

44 Arabic, *rujūlah.* This and the other proverbs quoted here are from the unpublished part of Qāḍī Ismā'īl's collection.

45 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah,* I, 216, no. 609. *Bu'ṣūṣ* is '*aẓm al-warik.* A variant runs, *Adhī mā mi'ih tharbah,* He who has no belly-fat . . Cf. *Jemenica,* 27, no. 135.

46 *Jemenica,* 5, no. 18.
These prices may be compared with Amin Rihani, *Arabian peak and desert,* London, 1930, 87—mutton 1½d per lb., beef 2½d, eggs 2½d a dozen, butter 3d per lb., wheat two pisatres a *qaddah*, potatoes 20 piastres a *qadah*.The Maria Theresa dollar is 20 piastres, about 2s 1d. A *qadaḥ* of wheat is 155 lbs and is sold for 60 piastres or six shillings. The *qadaḥ* is 40 *ūqiyyahs.*

47 Section 20, iii.

48 Ibid, 140, no. 1044, but Ibn Rustah, *al-A'lāq al-nafisah,* 112, says they prefer beef (*laḥm al-baqar*) to that of the plump ewe (*ḍa'n*) though all is bought at the one price. Both sorts of meat can only be fully cooked over hot coals (*jamr*) since (ordinary) fuel only heats but does not cook them.

49 The *masabb,* here a meat-bag, is made of a ewe's (*ḍa'n*) skin.

50 Lit., the abattoir dog.

51 Other proverbs are, '*Shirkah bayn sab'ah mā tibsil,* A piece of meat between seven doesn't cook (Ibb).' An alternative version says that a piece of meat of companions of the road (*khubarah*) doesn't cook—cf. Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato,* 62, no. 2. *Jemenica,* 39, no. 201. *Shirkah* means enough meat to do for a single day (*al-laḥm ḥaqq al-yawm*), so, '*Al-Shirkah kaldat yawm, wa-'l-ḍaḥiyyah kaldat sanah, wa-'l-marāh kaldat 'umr,* A (day's) meat (over which one has been cheated) is a single day's annoyance, the animal slaughtered at the Feast is a year's annoyance, and a wife is a life-time's annoyance.' (*kaldah = al-shay' alladhī yukaddir al-insān*).
'*Al-rajjāl al-mu'jab yiddī al-shirkah qabl al-ḥabb,* The silly man comes (to his house) with the meat before the corn is ground.' The corn logically should come first since it has to be ground, kneaded and baked—hard work taking much more time than cooking meat. On the other hand (*Jemenica,* 140, no. 1047), had women not got men they would eat beef raw—because men bring firewood to the house.

52 A satirical verse of the type called *ghanāwī* is quoted by Ahmad al-Shāmī, *Qiṣṣat al-adab fi 'l-Yaman,* Beirut, 1965, 212, attacking Ṣan'ā' women who ululated at the arrival of an unwelcome guest, ululation being customarily given to celebrate the arrival of an Imām of Ḥājj pilgrim.
You ululate (*bitiḥjirayn*), but he is not an Imām or (returned) pilgrim.
He is, you *qiḥāb*, one of those of Baḥr Rajraj.

53 Brauer, op. cit., 240.

craft for Dr Paolo Costa purchased a silver gilt knife handle bearing the inscription on the back, *'Amal al-Sayyid Yaḥyā al-Nūnū*.[54] The Nūnū Sayyid who made this handle may have flourished in the 18th century to judge from the style of the pattern of the handle, but since no attempt has yet been made or can yet be seriously made at dating styles, this remains speculative. Costa adds that he has heard that some of Bayt al-Akwa', e.g., Qāḍī Muḥammad, librarian of the Great Mosque, used to make *jambiyyahs,* meaning probably the silver chasing of the scabbards.

Sayyids, even well known ulema, engaged in many crafts of the city, not in all probability in demeaning occupations—a Sayyid would be a tailor but not a weaver.

When in prison in the Dār al-Adab (House of Correction) of the Naqīb Almās in 1166/1752-3 al-Amīr al-Ṣan'ānī[55] composed verses expressing his relief from the perpetual hammering at the Mint in the Qaṣr near his prison when the Dhimmīs had gone home to Bīr al-'Azab for the Sabbath (al-Sabt):

> An unwilling neighbour to the Mint (Dār al-Ḍarb) am I,
> what an evil (plight) that is.
> To be neighbour to the Jews with no one steadfast in
> the (Islamic) path.
> Their hammers (*maṭāriq*)[56] it is that come to one by night[57]
> Next to them there is no luck for the eye's time of
> repose[58]
> A most odd thing it is that I should be a Muslim, a
> Ḥanīf, but among my best days is the Sabbath!

Jakob Sappir[59] records that the Jews worked in the Mint during the reign of the Imām 'Abdullāh al-Mahdī, and in the town of Thilā under the anti-Imām of that time were Jewish silversmiths from Ṣan'ā' under the well-known family of Mōrī Yiḥyā ha-Lewī al-Shaykh. By 1942 al-Ḥajarī[60] records that the Sabīl al-Qirsh (Fountain of the Riyāl) under the supervision of the Ṣan'ā' family of Bayt 'Aslān is located in the Sikkat Dār al-Ḍarb or 'Mint Street'.

Hayyim Ḥabshūsh,[61] writing during the Second Turkish Occupation, provides an account of the Ṣan'ā' Mint, the obscurities of which have been removed by Rabbi Qāfiḥ and communicated to me through the medium of Mrs Aviva Klein-Franke. Under the previous dynasties (*duwal*) of the people of the Yemen, says Ḥabshūsh,

> the Jews had the means of gaining a livelihood through the striking of the currency of the rulers (*ḍarībat*[62] *sikkat al-duwal*), and many people used to gain a living (*yatasabbab*) thereby, apart from the money-changers (*ṣayārifah*), so that some of them acquired property (*amwāl*) and jewellery (*ḥaly*). Here is a description of how it worked:

A number of about ten men used to smelt the mixture (*ta'dūl*)[63] of silver with copper and pour it into sand fashioned for that purpose—they would take it out of the sand in fine strips (*jarāyid*[64] *daqīq*), a single one of which would amount to twenty dirhams. These the official in charge (Ma'mūr) would receive and deliver to the people who cut them up (*yafruṣū-hin*),[65] the latter numbering fifty persons, and the place/room they used to call al-Mufrāṣah. They would return them to the Ma'mūr, calling them *fūl* (broad beans), and he would turn them over to other people, they numbered a hundred persons, to beat (*dakam*) them, and they call them *dakmah* (lit. a blow[66] with a hammer). They would beat them and call (them) *ḍurūb*[67] and flatten (*yuwaṭṭū*)[68] them and call (them/it) *waṭā*—they used to call this place/room (*makān*) *miḍrābah*. Then they would deliver (*yasūqū*) the *waṭā* to the Ma'mūr. Their cutting was regular, not one piece being more (*taftatiḥ 'alā*)[69] than another. The Ma'mūr would give them to another place/room to polish them-which they would call al-Majlā.[70]

The Ma'mūr would now send them to the Mint (al-Sikkah),[71] it being a place over which there were more guards than over anywhere else, where a *qāḍī* representing the Khalīfah[72] would be sitting. Those who work in it would be about forty persons, and no-one would enter or leave where they are, like the rest of their fellow (workers) who work in that building. Those have an instrument made of iron (with two dies) upon which the Khalīfah's name and the town are written, which they call 'obverse' and 'reverse' (*rās wa-sifāl*),[73] and (of) each pair (of workmen) one grips the 'obverse' and inserts (*yilaqqim*)[74] (the flat piece of silver between the two dies) and the second strikes with the hammer until he completes the work of striking (*shughl al-ḍarībah*). The Ma'mūr takes them out—then he seeks the *qāḍī's* assent (to passing) them, they having called them *shughlah,*[75] he gives them to the money-changers (*ṣayārifah*) who issue them (*yaṣrifū-hā*)[76] among the people, and they call them *ṣarf.*

Now at one time, the Ma'mūr over the minting (*ḍarībah*) of the aforesaid Khalīfah was a Jew called Yūsuf al-Shaykh Lewī,[77] who was adventurous (*mutajāsir*) in his affairs and wanted to extend his wealth (by taking) from the silver of the alloy of the minting (*fiḍḍat ta'dūl al-ḍarībah*), but his fraud became apparent to the aforesaid governor ('*āmil*) Muḥāfiẓ[78] and to the aforesaid Khalīfah Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā (1844-49), so they cast him into prison, put him in irons, and admonished him harshly. In his fear for himself he threw the blame (*alqa 'l-muṣībah*) on other people than himself, alleging that he was innocent of this accusation (*da'wā*) and that he was alloying

54 Cf. Muḥ. Zabārah, *al-Anbā'* . . ., Cairo, 1376 H., in the essay Nayl al-Husnayayn, 198, says the Nūnū family is a branch of the Hamazāt Sayyids, to which also belong the Ashrāf of the Jawf. There are Nūnū Sayyids in Ṣan'ā' today.

55 His biography is in *Nashr al-'arf,* II, 505 seq. For the verses see his *Dīwān,* edit. 'Alī al-Sayyid Ṣabaḥ al-Madanī, Cairo, 1964, 75. Other verses are in *Nashr al-'arf,* II, 544, etc.

56 Sing., *maṭraqah.* Brauer, op. cit., 241-2, lists as the silversmith's tools, *safīlah,* small anvil; *mijmarah* (*Gloss. daṭ., majmarah,* foyer de charbon), furnace; *ziqq,* bellows; *ribal,* round iron for making rings; *maṣṭaqah,* hammer; for filigree silver wire (*fatīl*), are used a *majarrah,* punch (?); *jāz,* tweezers; *kalbatayn,* pincers; *manfikh,* bellows.

57 Arabic *ṭawāriq,* parallel to *maṭāriq.*

58 I have omitted a verse here.

59 Cited by Brauer, op. cit., 242 seq.

60 *Masājid Ṣan'ā',* 86.

61 Edit. S. D. Goitein, Arabic-Hebrew text, 38 seq.

62 Brauer, loc. cit., calls these Jews *ahl al-ḍarībah,* Munzpräger. Rossi, *L'arabo parlato* . . ., 152, calls *ḍarībah,* money in general.

63 *Ta'dūl,* the alloy of silver with copper in the proportions agreed. *'Addal* means to prepare the mixture and smelt it. Cf. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā',* section 3, i.

64 Sing., *jarīdah,* long thin tongue-shaped strip that comes out of the moulding (Qāfiḥ).

65 *Gloss. daṭ., faraṣ,* fendre. Cf. the list of tools, p.263. Qāfiḥ states that *faraṣa, yifraṣu* means to cut the metal strip into pieces. It is a denominal verb from *firāṣ,* i.e. a round chisel (*izmīl*) with which we cut the strips into small thick pieces, each called a *fūl,* meaning a grain (*habbah*) which is a small round piece like the *fūl* bean.

66 The root *dakama* is in *Gloss, daṭ.,* but not *dakmah,* knocking with a hammer. Sayed Hamood Hason, *Arabic simplified,* 2nd edit., Aden, 1941, *dakmah,* a blow.

67 Not known to the lexicons consulted.

68 Verbal noun *tawṭiyah,* beating with a hammer to make it flat and evenly rounded. Vocalisation of *waṭā* uncertain.

69 Explained as—because there is no piece wider than the other but all are of one size. *Ḥabbah,* piece is synonymous with *fūl.*

70 Better Mijlā like *miṣbānah* and *miḍrābah* supra.

71 Cf. Dozy, *Supplément,* l'hôtel de la monnaie se nomme Dār al-Sikkah.

72 I.e. the Imām.

73 *Rās wa-sifāl,* defined by Qāfiḥ as—two moulds or dies between which they stamp the coin, the *rās* being the upper and *sifāl* the lower. They strike with a hammer and this is how the coin is stamped/struck. It is an instrument with two iron plates.

74 *Laqqam,* faire avaler, class. Ar., *Gloss. daṭ.* Here it refers to the action of inserting the flat round piece of silver between the two dies in order to stamp it.

75 *Shughlah*—the last action of stamping (*ṭab'*) the coin.

76 This might be read *yuṣrifu* to distribute, change.

77 For this family see Brauer, op. cit., 243, quoting Saphir.

78 Al-Wāsi'ī, *Tārikh al-Yaman,* 1st ed., 72, mentions the *wazīr* of Ṣan'ā', the Shaykh Abū Zayd al-Ḥasan al-Miṣrī as *kathīr al-jawr wa-'l-ẓulm,* very tyrannical and unjust, but he does not mention Muḥāfiẓ; Ḥabshūsh speaks of both persons.

the coinage (*ḍarībah*)[79] with silver according to the way of the stipulations (*al-mashārīṭ*),[80] but that the Jews who were making the silver alloy (*yaṣīghu*[81] *'l-fiḍḍah*) had adulterated (*khānū*) it. With us there is no pure metal silver (*fiḍḍah ma'dan ṭayyibah*) but alloyed silver (*fiḍḍah muṣāghah*). At that time, and what preceded it, the silver of the Yemen workers (*shughghāl*)[82] was alloyed (in the proportion of) seven dirhams minus a third, of pure silver (*fiḍḍah khāliṣah*), to three and a third dirhams of copper (*naḥās*).[83] This is the (standard) alloy (*ta'dūl*) of the Jews, the silversmiths (*ṣuyyāgh*) of the people of the Yemen. Yūsuf al-Shaykh, the Ma'mūr in charge of the work (of preparing the alloy (*shughl*)) for the coinage (*ḍarībah*) pleaded that the silver had already been alloyed with copper (*nuḥḥisat*) and they added more copper to it.

The 'Āmil and the Khalīfah were delighted by the adducing of this plea because they would receive their cut (*rizq*) from both sides—from the Ma'mūr and from the Jews! So they collected together those Jews, silversmiths, whom they found (*liqyū*) to the prison and admonished them harshly on the grounds (*bi-da'wā*) that they had defrauded the Muslims and that even their (the Muslims') women were unlawful (*ḥarām*) and their sons were not (begotten) in accordance with the law (*sunnah*) of the Prophet since they had married (*amlakū*)[84] their women-folk with the adulterated silver, and, since detriment/injury (*ḍarūrah*) requires what will set their condition to rights, they made a judgement against the silversmiths of 2,200 *riyāls* by way of expiation/compensation (*kuffārah,*[85] *sic*).

At that time the *riyāl* with them was a difficult pass, because of acute poverty, especially with ordinary folk. So when their friends (*ma'ārif*)[86] apportioned out (*faraqū*) that compensation and those persons whose intent was injustice (*ẓulm*) had trebled it, their cry for succour (*ṣurākh*) rose up to the very heavens (*kabid al-samā'*) because of the lack of the wherewithal in their hands (to pay it), and who would hear their cry except after their paying that? Some of them fled, abandoning their houses, but they took it (the payment) from their houses so flight availed them nothing. Some sold their houses, some pledged their house-deeds (*baṣā'ir*) and paid, some sold their tools, some spent a long time in prison until they paid. One of them was this Jew whose brother I found in Qaryat Milḥ at that time, he being Sulaymān al-Maswarī. When he saw the admonishing and torture (*'adhāb*) with which they tortured his companions in the prison, and realising that he had nothing with him to pledge or sell, and none from whom to borrow, he turned his case over in his mind to escape from their torture. He undertook and assented to the money due by him, asking that they take him out of the prison to his house to hand over what he owed. So they brought him out with two policemen (*shawash*)[87] to receive it from him in full, it being forty-two *riyāls*. When he reached his house he took his wife's razor for shaving[88] and slaughtered himself with it (i.e. cut his throat), the police accompanying him and the household being taken unawares. As soon as they turned to him they found him covered in blood, and his death-rattle was like that of a slaughtered bull. His wife when she saw this shouted at the top of her voice, 'My husband is slaughtered, my husband is slain.'

In comment on the above it has to be pointed out that the Ma'mūr can have hardly operated without accomplices among the employees of the Mint, or at least with their cognizance. Furthermore the tripling of the fine where a person's honour is impugned would be in line with tribal customary law practice.

Ḥabshūsh goes on to say,

> After the silver (*ṣiyagh*)[89] has been handed over nothing further has to be done but test the worked pieces by the furnace (*'abrat al-ashghāl bi-'l-rūbāṣ*)[90] to make clear how much silver and copper they contain lest (? *lilā*) there should come about bad faith (*ghadr*) of the sort that happened before. No pieces of worked silver are sold in the markets without being tested (*ma'būrah*) in the fire by the *rūbāṣ,* stamped with the name of the Khalīfah and inscribed with the name of the silversmith. Before this they used to manage with the touchstone (*miḥakk*)—i.e., testing the silver with a whetstone (*masann*) of black stone, for the *rūbāṣ* was not well known. Furthermore, at that time and both before and after it worked silver pieces were extremely few, and only the sultans/governors (*duwal*)[91] and lords of the Yemen, none else, used to enquire about them and ask for them. The tribes and commonfolk used to manage with iron, brass (*naḥās*) or lead ornaments and glass beads (*kharaz*)—this on account of the lack of money income (*madkhūl al-fulūs*)[92] coming into people's hands. However, in this time of ours now, thanks to God and thanks to God again,what is made into worked silver (*ashghāl al-fiḍḍah*) is more than the brass and iron of former days. This is under the gracious Ottoman Government (*sa'ādat*[93] *al-Dawlat al-'Aliyyah*), may its sublimity/majesty endure, and a time will surely come when they will ask for gold.

The prophecy of Ḥabshūsh has come true, for in Ṣan'ā' today it is gold that is in demand for women's jewellery, not the old-fashioned silver jewellery which appeals so much to the foreigner.

At a later date, the *qāḍī* of the Mint being Ḥusayn Jaghmān and the secretary (*kātib*) Qāḍī Aḥmad Suhayl, 'when befell the disorder (*rabsh*) on the part of the Dhimmī, the Shaykh of the Mint, and the adulteration of the coinage (*ḍarībah*) the discussion (of the case) was referred (*rufi'a 'l-khawḍ*) to Sharīf al-Maqām (the Imām) and the order came back to kill him and cut off his head. This was put into execution on Monday 3rd Jumādā II, 1280/15th November, 1863, at the Gate of Sayf al-Khilāfah at

79 Cf. note 62, supra.

80 *Mashārīṭ* (sing. probably *mashrūṭ*), probably the conditions laid down in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā',* loc. cit.

81 Qāfiḥ states that *ṣighah* is the name for the silver alloy with a certain percentage of silver to copper, according to local custom (*'ādat al-makān*). With this mixture the silversmiths used legally to manufacture all silver jewellery. At one time for example they used to alloy eight parts of silver with two parts of copper, and this used to be called *ṣighah.* There was however a time when they alloyed 3 1/3rd parts of copper to 6 2/3rds of silver. This throws light on *Qānūn Ṣan'ā',* section 3, i. There the copper part of the metal is not mentioned, but Rabbi Qāfiḥ's note demonstrates that the document has in mind the *ūqiyyah* composed of ten *qaflahs.* These two parts, copper and silver add up to an *ūqiyyah.*

82 *Fiḍḍah shughghāl* means the legal alloy for the silversmiths (*ṣuyyāgh*).

83 As stated elsewhere, *naḥās* in the Yemen usually means brass.

84 When a man marries (*yumlik*) his wife the payment of the dowry of silver articles, it would be assumed, contains the percentage of actual silver decreed by law in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* and by custom. (Cf. *The Portuguese off the south Arabian coast,* 147, passim, for Ibn Ḥajar's discussion of base money.) If, however, the man later discovers that the silver was adulterated with a larger amount of copper than what is laid down, he is then in the position according to Islamic law of having deceived his wife, and she is not legally married. Consequently she is not his wife nor are the children legally his children, but those of a woman not his wife! Qāfiḥ calls *ḥarām,* illegal.

85 *Kuffārah* would be in atonement for the damage they had caused.

86 *Ma'ārif*—evidently those in charge of the silversmiths, but it is unclear whether they are Muslims or Jews, but probably the latter.

87 *Shāwush* (cf. Rossi, op. cit., 148).

88 Razor for shaving the brow. Yemeni Jewish married women shave some of their hair to make themselves unattractive to outsiders.

89 Sing. *ṣighah* as in f.n. 81 supra.

90 *Rūbāṣ/rūbās,* according to A. Siggel, *Arabisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch der Stoffe,* Berlin, 1950, 97, Schmiedeherd, Treibherd, 'ähnlich einem Puddelherd zu denken . . . Schreibung mit *sīn* . . ist seltener. Bisweilen wird auch das Produkt, das raffinierte Silber, damit bezeichnet.' It is then a forge, cupelling furnace, refining hearth.

91 *Dawlah* means an independent sultan, but Niebuhr gives it as the title of a governor. It does not however seem to be so used in Zaydī histories.

92 This may mean that coin was not very abundant, as indeed was the case before 1962 in some country districts. Up to recent times silver dollars were given to the silversmith to smelt and fashion into ornaments in the south Arabian sultanates. *Fulūs* basically is copper coinage.

93 *Sa'ādah,* happiness, good fortune, I have rendered here as an honorific.

Ṣarḥat Yāsir, and both the Muslims and Dhimmīs were pleased by this, and it had a great effect. His two brothers remained in prison they being detained on the basis that they should undertake to deliver 1,600 *qirsh* by way of fine (*adab*) to (*'alā yad*) the Shaykh Muḥsin Mu'īḍ. Then came about their complaining of injustice and (the money) was reduced from them to 1,000 *qirsh*.'

It is virtually certain that the Jewish silversmiths who drew up the agreement in the document that follows after this event and the condign punishment which ensued, severe as it may have been, were all too well aware of the consequences of fraud by individuals on the whole craft. This at least would be a logical explanation for their fear of loss in Muslim property if members of the craft work for less than standard rates—in that, working at a cut rate below the customary, they might resort to adulterating the alloy with more base metal than the law decreed.

ii. A Jewish Silversmithery Agreement

The document to follow (taken by A. Shivtiel from a Hebrew source), like so many south Arabian Muslim documents, is an agreement following on a dispute—in this case between the Jewish silversmiths of Sūq 'Aqīl in old Ṣan'ā'. These at one time numbered no less than three hundred craftsmen but, says Brauer,[94] they had dropped to only thirty by 1934. Both the form and language[95] of the agreement, Hebrew phrases apart, and the actual craft organisation, are identical with parallel Muslim agreements. Its relationship to *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* compiled, over forty years earlier, in 1819, is obvious, but the remuneration for silversmith work may be slightly higher than that of the *Qānūn,* section 3. The agreement was concluded during the unsettled times when the shaykh Muḥsin b. 'Alī Mu'īḍ had been made governor of Ṣan'ā', not by the Imām, but by the townsfolk themselves.

The purpose of the agreement is to stop individual Jewish silversmiths from undercutting the established prices paid for worked silver. A feature of the document is the clear intention to avoid any clash with the Muslim authorities, and the reason alleged for wishing to maintain the level of prices is to avoid harm to the Muslim community. An interesting item is that a wage is to be paid the Shaykh while in prison—perhaps when the Jewish community is to be squeezed, or more likely, on account of the misdemeanour of an individual Jewish silversmith, to judge by the parallel situation in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā',* section 50, iv, where the Governor not only punishes the fraudulent retailer, but his Shaykh also.

Since the payment made to the Shaykh while in prison for a thirty day month (and Jews of course do not work on the Sabbath) would come to 3 2/3 *qirsh* only, it can hardly have been intended to compensate him for his loss of earnings from his craft. This sum would be the same as the wage of a builder's labourer as laid down at the earlier period by *Qānūn Ṣan'ā',* section 36, i, etc. The 'charges of the prison' are most likely the fees (*rasāmah*) paid to the soldier gaoler by Muslims and Jews alike.

Document

When all the silversmiths who gain their livelihood (*al-ṣayyāghīn al-mu'tāshīn*)[96] at Sūq 'Aqīl in the Preserved City (al-Madīnat al-Maḥmiyyah) presented themselves at . . .[97] and complained that some of the people (exercising) the craft (*miḥrah*), execute work at less than the customary price (*bi-nāqiṣ 'ala 'l-mu'tād*), and that they (the plaintiffs) have no way out of that. They (the silversmiths) fear insolvency[98] in the property of the Muslims, and because of that they are afraid some will be arrested on account of others, although they (the plaintiffs) have no culpability in the matter.

They now press the shaykh in charge (*al-shaykh al-mustanab*),[99] at present Sulaymān b. Abrāhām 'Amr,[100] to take a surety (*ḍamān*)[101] from the offenders (*ghuramā'*) who work for less, against any (possible) loss at their hands in the property of the Muslims etcetera.

The afore-mentioned shaykh took it upon himself to deal (*al-ḍabṭ*) [102] with the aforesaid matter, it being basic customary practice (*'ādah aṣliyyah*) that the shaykh in charge takes a surety (*ḍamān*) for that which has been mentioned from anyone of whom this is feared.

Those present have undertaken to proceed according to a single price—two quarters (? *rub'ay*)[103] of a *qirsh* to a quarter and a half of a *qirsh,* to an eighth. As for the man who makes a living (*al-muta'ayyish*)[104] they allow him[105] (to charge ?) the quarter of an eighth (1/32nd) in the *waqiyyah*; there is no reduction by mutual consent. The above applies to ordinary workmanship (*al-shughl al-jāzi'*),[106] but in the case of ornaments (*zīnah*) or purses (*maḥāfiẓ*)[107] of fine workmanship (*al-shughl al-diqq*), the (wage for) the work will be paid by mutual consent in the matter of a wage in excess of the afore-mentioned Statute (*ziyādat al-ujrah 'ala 'l-qānūn al-madhkūr*).[108]

They undertook as obligatory upon themselves (that) anyone executing work (*shughl*) without a stamp (*ṭābi'*),[109] and against whom there is evidence[110] of that, will be fined two French *qirsh* (*adabu-h qirshayn Farānṣī*) to (be paid to) the Holder of the Preserved Governorship (*Dhu 'l-wilāyah al-maḥmiyyah*).[111] It is left to the shaykh (*mafsūḥ*[112] *li'l-shaykh*) to imprison, arrest (*ḍabṭ*) and fine (*ta'dīb*).

Those who make appliqué (*dharūr*)[113] are prohibited from using the solder (*liḥām*) called *a f m*,[114] and the shaykh will take active measure to prevent this, the responsibility (*darak*) lying with their headman (*'āqil*), Mūsā al-Jarashī.[115] Anyone against whom there is evidence of this will be arrested (and taken to) the assayer

94 *Jemenitische Juden,* 241

95 The document is in colloquial Arabic in Hebrew characters. Difficulties occur when a Hebrew character can represent either of two Arabic letters or when Arabic long vowels are omitted.

96 For *mu'tāsh* cf. *Qānūn,* section 46, a, one who gains his livelihood, perhaps the same as *muta'ayyish* infra.

97 This is normal style in Arabic documents. It is a pity that the place at which they presented themselves is unclear in the original. One would expect them to go to their *'āqil* or to the 'Āqīl of the Qā' al-Yahūd, possibly to the Shaykh al-Mashāyikh or possibly even the Wālī.

98 Ar. *taflis.* This is difficult to interpret. Perhaps it means that silver *riyāls* are deposited by Muslims with Jewish smiths to turn into ornaments, and if the smith does not charge enough to cover his expenses and living costs he might use the *riyāls* to buy what he needs. Alternatively the argument may have been adduced to persuade the Muslim authorities to exert pressure on those smiths undercutting their fellows.

99 *Mustanab* seems synonymous with *mu'ahhad* of *Qānūn,* section 18, a. *Istanab,* lit., means to stand.

100 The Hebrew form of the name is used.

101 The text's *ḍ m n*.

102 For *ḍabṭ* cf. *Qānūn,* section 13, a, to oblige to do.

103 *Rub'ay,* possibly *rub'ī*—the word is dubious. If it is correct to read two quarters—and the word 'half' would normally be expected here—the drafter of the document might be thinking in terms of the quarter *qirsh* basically, and then in fractions and multiples thereof. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā',* section 3, iii, has a wage range commencing from 1/8th, then hammered silver at 1/8th plus 4 *buqshahs* (at 80 to the *qirsh*), to ornaments at a 1/4 *qirsh.*
In Ḥaḍramawt, in 1948, one took four Maria Theresa dollars or *qirsh* to the silversmith and received in return three dollars weight of worked silver. If this was the procedure followed in Ṣan'ā' at that time some of the work would be very expensive indeed. On the other hand the wages mentioned may be over and above the actual silver in the manufactured article.

104 He may be a retailer or a *dallāl* perhaps.

105 *Fallat,* Rossi, *lasciare (Gloss. daṭ.,* 2430).

106 *Gloss. daṭ.,* 282, *jāzi',* qui a cours.

107 A *maḥfaẓah li-'l-buqash* is a silver box with appliqué work, to fit on the belt and hold money. E. V. Stace, *English-Arabic vocabulary,* 127, *maḥfaẓah,* a bullet pouch, also, but though the latter is often decorated with silver, it is obviously not meant here.

108 By *qānūn,* the drafter means the immediately preceding part of the paragraph.

109 Cf. *Qānūn,* section 3, vii.

110 Cf. *Qānūn,* section 2, ii, passim, for this phrase.

111 The identical title as in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'; maḥmiyyah* is the usual qualification of Ṣan'ā' itself.

112 *Gloss. daṭ., fasaḥ,* lâcher; here it almost means 'is authorised'. Is the shaykh in question the Shaykh Sūq al-Ṣiyāghah?

113 Described as light decoration (*naqashāt khafifah*) mounted on or applied to a flat silver surface.

114 It has proved impossible to trace this word.

115 For this family see W. Leslau, 'Texts on Yemenite folklore', 222; E. Brauer. *Jemenitische Juden,* 307, alludes to the *knīs bēt el-Ġarāsī.*

(*muḥakkik*) because there is the regulation[116] of the ancestors (R.I.P.) where it is feared that thereby forgeries (*ziyyūfim*)[117] and resemblance to money may occur. Similarly the deduction (*nuqṣān*) in the ounce (*waqiyyah*) of silver where it still needs cleaning from solder (*taṭyūb al-liḥām*)[118] is a *qaflah*.[119]

They have taken all of this upon themselves of their own free will and assent in accordance with the custom from the time of the ancestors.[120]

If a levy (*farqah*)[121] should come down on them (and God forbid) each shall pay according to his capacity (*bi-qadr-ih*), craftsman and travelling worker (? *ṣāḥib mihrah wa-darrāj*);[122] and when they want someone to make an estimate (*yurāqil*)[123] between them they shall agree together upon one of them(selves), once they have taken it upon themselves to agree (*yitwakhaw*), as one heart and one person in this matter . . .[124]

If one of them is arrested in Sūq 'Aqīl,[125] be he shaykh, *'Āqīl* or some other, and imprisoned (which God forbid), they will pay him the wage, an eighth of a *qirsh* per day, plus the charges[126] (*gharā'im*) of the prison. If they do not obey this the shaykh will distribute[127] (the cost of) the wage among them in turn.

The date is given according to the Hebrew calendar and comes to about the month of March in the year 1862.

iii. Silver Jewellery (see illustrations p. 541)

The list of mainly silver ornaments below has been compiled largely from Hebrew sources—these would no doubt be typical of Jewish manufacture over the Yemen. Nazīh al-Mu'ayyad[128] confirms that the Jews in his day were manufacturing the forged coins and 'Ḥimyarite' antiquities still on sale in Ṣan'ā' today. The study of silver in western Arabia requires much more attention than can be lent to it here. Some beads of the pre-Islamic[129] period, it may be remarked in passing, resemble Islamic Yemeni specimens. Nazīh[130] notes that the semi-precious stones for which the Yemen is so well known used to be polished in a small market beside Qubbat al-Mahdī 'Abbās. In the Jewish Silversmiths' Sūq, Nazīh, when purchasing their wares was asked if he required 'the modern Turkish *duqqah* or the old *duqqah* special to the tribes'.[131]

Aqrāṭ birr, (sing., *qurṭ*), chaplets for the hat. Very small dangles shaped like wheat (*birr*).
Aqrāṭ miṭarraḥāt, flat chaplets. Bigger dangles.
Aqrāṭ sha'iriyyāt, chaplets. Beads so called because they resemble barley (*sha'ir*).
Azrār shabak (sing., *zirr*), buttons made up of small balls called *rasamāt.*
Azrār tishjūr, larger ball-shaped buttons.
Azrār waṣāwiṣ, hollow buttons strung on a thread, children's jewellery.
Band (plur., *bunūd*), children's ornament (*Tarjī' al-aṭyār,* 137). A *band* may be the piece on the end of a necklace or a hanging piece which may take two shapes.
Bilayziq (Rossi, 156, *bilziqī* or *blayziqī*), bracelet for young girls.
Faqsh (plur., *fuqūsh*), small half-ball soldered to a ring attached to the hat.
Ḥadūd(ah) (plur., *ḥadāwid*), thin silver bracelet (*Nashr al-'arf,* II, 196).[132]

Haykal (plur., *hayākil*), small hollow cylinders hung on a girl's *qarqūsh* cap (cf. p. 534b, n. 41) for amulets.
Ḥilqah (plur., *ḥilaq*), a ring with a precious stone (cf. Hunter, 61, Rossi, 156).
Ḥinayshiyyah (cf. Hunter, 61, *ḥanishāt*), a chain worn by men on the *jambiyyah* (cf. below *ḥunayshī*). It is also the name of a chain worn on a woman's forehead with dangles called *namānim.* It is to be supposed that the name is derived from *ḥanash,* a snake.
Khirṣ/khurṣ (plur., *akhrāṣ*), ear-rings (cf. Rossi, 157).[133]
Kitāb (plur., *kutub*), long hollow cylinder in middle of necklace, presumably to hold an amulet (cf. p. 240b).
Labbah (*āt*), a fine interworked filigree necklace covering the chest, or, if tribal, thick solid silverwork. (Cf. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā',* sect. 3, vi; *Nashr al-'arf,* II, 196; Hunter, 59).
Lāzim, monili d'argento cadenti sul petto (Rossi, 157; cf. Hunter, 60). Part of necklace with strings often of coral or silver beads and several large coins, etc.
Madwar (plur., *madāwir*), ring without stones (Cf. Hunter, 60; Rossi, 156, *Gloss. daṭ.*). Nazīh (149) explains *madāwir* as *khawātim.*
Ma'naqah, large heavy necklace worn as a choker.
Marshaq, square silver plate with a thin chain, for a child's hand.
Qublah (plur., *qubal*), plates of various shapes attached to the *qarqūsh.* They may, for example, be round and possibly as large as 75 mm in diameter.
Sals (plur., *sulūs*), a small single chain of gold or silver (*Tarjī' al-aṭyār,* 80; Rossi, 198).
Salsah bayḍā, white (silver) chain.
Salsah mithamman, octagonal chain (?). Chain of eight intertwined threads.
Salsah mufaṣṣaṣah, chain with precious stones or rosettes.
Salsah ṣufrā, yellow (i.e. gold-washed) chain.
Shumaylah (*āt*), wider silver bracelet (Hunter, 60; *Gloss. daṭ.* also reports this from Ḥaḍramawt).
Taṭārīf (sing., *taṭrīf* ?), plates covered with ornamental stones attached to the chains of the *qarqūsh.* End pieces of a choker or necklace, of two shapes.
Tiklūl, small white balls joined to the *aqrāṭ.*
Wussāṭī, a square hollow plate with filigree decoration. It has about ten holes through which the maker threads precious stones, red coral, silver grains (*tūt*). It used to be worn by young girls.
Zanābīl, small basket-like ornaments of filigree suspended from the chains of the *qarqūsh.*
Zimām, an ornament of silver or gold, in which jewels may be set, put by girls on their noses (*Nashr al-'arf,* II, 490; *Tarjī' al-aṭyār,* 137, 311, which calls it a rosette (*zahrah*)).

iv. The Dagger (*Jihāz*)

The South Arabian dagger, the *janbiyyah* (pl., *janābī*) of the free tribesmen and armed aristocracy is an article of dress of an importance not dissimilar to that of the sword in feudal European society, though parallels should not be too closely drawn. Professor Beeston has recently discovered an allusion to a dagger in a pre-Islamic inscription and Professor Jacques Ryckmans[134] has shown in a drawing newly available of the stele from Kharibat Āl 'Alī near al-Ḥazm in Jawf Bin Nāṣir that the two figures on it are wearing, that on the left the long *sabīkah,* that on the right the dagger with the crook (*tūzah*), which today would be the types worn by the Sayyids or Qāḍīs, and tribesmen respectively. The curious thing about both daggers is that the hilt is placed the wrong way round—this may perhaps be a simple error of the engraver. The curved dagger is worn well to the left of the waist. Daggers figure on some medieval coins, they are often to be seen as graffiti on walls, for instance on the sides of cisterns scratched in the plaster. A man's standing is to be estimated from the value and splendour

116 The Hebrew word used here, *taqannat* is equivalent to the Arabic *qānūn.*
117 *Ziyyūfim,* cf. Arabic *muzayyaf.*
118 A *qaflah* is 1/10th of a *waqiyyah.* If our rendering is correct the allowance of a tenth of the weight for cleaning appears a lot.
119 *Taṭyūb,* a colloquial form for *taṭyīb.*
120 This sentence though in Hebrew corresponds exactly to the Arabic phraseology that would be used in such a context.
121 Cf. p.154 passim.
122 *Gloss. daṭ., daraja,* faire des tours, aller par ci et par là. *Darrāj,* qui va et vient partout, de porte à porte. This would seem to be a smith who goes round villages, not one working in a booth of his own. At Shahārah in 1964 I heard that Jewish silversmiths from one of the communities in the district come round from time to time there to execute silver-work for the local people.
123 Qāḍī Ismā'īl proposes *yurājil,* meaning *mufāṣalah, musāwamah* for *yurāqil;* it takes a direct accusative.
124 After *yitwakhaw* follow phrases in Hebrew to confirm and render the agreement binding.
125 We read *bi-Sūq* for the printed text's *bi-sabab.*
126 The prisoner's family would provide his food, and the gaolers would have to be bribed as described by Sayyid Aḥmad al-Shāmī in *Arabian Studies,* 1975, 11, 51.
When a prisoner was freed he paid a fee called *rasāmah* to his gaolers, not a very precise sum, variously stated to be about 2 *buqshahs* a week before 1962, and/or according to the time imprisoned, perhaps ten *riyāls* for ten months of prison. Persons who have been imprisoned in Ḥajjah state that a book published by Qāsim b. Ghālib on the horrors of Ḥajjah and other prisons before 1962 is distorted and sometimes incorrect.
127 *Dawwal = dawwar,* to make go round, *Gloss. daṭ.,* 1862—he will make each house or group pay in turn.
128 Op. cit., I, 40.
129 Cf. Geoffrey Turner, 'South Arabian gold jewellery', *Iraq,* London 1973, XXXV, 127-39. F. M. Hunter, *An account of the British settlement of Aden in Arabia,* London, 1877, has a list of jewellery worn there. Rossi, refers to C. Ansaldi, *Il Yemen,* 156, for an accurate description of necklaces worn by Arabs and Jews. For verses referring to ornaments see *Tarjī' al-aṭyār,* 161, 363.
130 Op. cit., I, 136.
131 Ibid, I, 149. It looks as if Nazīh had misunderstood the *duqqah* which he calls *naqshah,* and is a hollow bead-ball, as illustrated in Brauer, op. cit., Taf. IV, d. Muḥ. b. 'Abdullāh b. al-Imām Sharaf al-Dīn, *al-Mubayyatāt,* Cairo (?) n.d., 154, mentions an old type of ornament, *al-fulūl.*
132 *Masājid Ṣan'ā',* 75, has a verse of al-Khafanjī:
Wa-kassarat min ba'd dha 'l-ḥadāwid
Wa-hazzat al-labbāt wa-'l-qalāyid.
133 In the days of Ṣāḥib al-Mawāhib, the barbarity of some soldiers was such that in Raymah they would cut off the ear of a woman of the *ra'iyyah* to get the *khurṣ* attached to it, and some ears with their *akhrāṣ* were sold in Ṣan'ā' (*Nashr al-'arf,* II, 670).
134 'La chasse rituelle dans l'Arabie du Sud ancienne', *Al-Bahit: Festschrift Joseph Henniger,* Studia Instituti Anthropos, 28, Bonn-Fribourg, 1976, 290. Cf. R. B. Serjeant, *South Arabian Hunt,* London 1976, 104. A. K. Irvine, 'Homicide in pre-Islamic South Arabia', *B.S.O.A.S.,* 1967, XXX, ii, 292, *szb.*

of his dagger, but it is the quality of the handle that makes the weapon costly. When the Imām Ṣāḥib al-Mawāhib had his *wazīr* arrested in 1121/1700-1, about two hundred and forty splendid and costly *janbiyyahs* were found in his house in Ibb.[135] There is a dagger worn by an ascetic scholar, a *qāḍī*, in the days of al-Mahdī 'Abbās which it was agreed was not worth a *qirsh,* but a price of one hundred *qirsh, riyāls,* was paid for a fine dagger at this time.[136] The wages for the silver mountings of the scabbard are laid down in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*.[137]

The following names of the parts of a tribesman's dagger were taken down from a Royalist tribesman in the mountains in 1966.

The handle (*rās*) of the dagger is made of the horns (*qurūn*) of the *waraf,* an animal from Ḥabashah—the word is not known to Arabic, but it might be a giraffe.[138] The *mabsam* is the horizontal ornamented silver band covering the foot of the handle and top of the blade—at least once I have seen a *mabsam* with an Arabic inscription on it. The *'asīb*[139] (pl. *'iswab*) is the upper part of the scabbard.[140] The delicate pea-green leather thongs of tanned sheep-goat skin wound round the scabbard are known as *ṭirshah*[141]—a *marsab* is a plaited ox-hide rope in general, a term not necessarily applied to a dagger. *Julbah* was the name given for a dagger scabbard without a crook at the end, the crook of a dagger of another type is called *tūzah. Ḥurūf* are coins mounted on the dagger handle. Sayyids only were said to me in Ṣan'ā' to wear the *thūmah* scabbard without the crooked part which my informant described as *'aṭfah* but this does not seem to be a technical term. Behind the scabbard is a *jayb al-ḥilyah wa-'l-qalam,* leather pocket for the pen and the *ḥilyah* which last was described as the silver (*mukhlaṣ*) part of the knife (*sikkīn*) carried behind the dagger. The *iṭm* is a wooden stick used to stir food, often worn behind the dagger also, *milqāṭ*[142] are pincers for taking coals of charcoal to put on a pipe-bowl, and are made of *naḥās* which in the north Yemen means brass. Little projections on the knife-handle[143] for ornament are known as *zahrah* which might be rendered as rosette, flower. *Ḥunayshī* meaning little snake, is a silver chain sometimes attached to such objects.

The *yasarah* is the dagger-belt, and it has often a *ḥirz* (amulet-case at the side), and a *maḥfaẓah* or purse of silver (*li-'l-buqash*) for money; beside it is a kohl-pot (*mukḥalah*) of silver. The belt has a buckle (*ḥilqah*) with a tongue (*ibzīm*).

The tribesman told me that the *dawshān* makes the scabbard of leather and wood—it is he who cuts these leather strips into thread (*miḥbas,* pl., *maḥābis*) to sew the dagger scabbard.

There seems to be no special significance attached to inheriting a dagger—for example if a man leaves two male children they value the dagger and presumably one would take it at the valuation.

The dagger with filigree silver mounts and heavily embroidered belt shown at the Ṣan'ā' Exhibition[144] in 1976 has a handle with silver pins hammered into it (*rās mazrū'*), *ḥurūf* coins or discs, a *mabsam*, amulet-cases (*ḥirz* or *kitāb*), a *sulṭah* silver guard, a strap (*lisān*), round metal ornaments (*zahrah*), a buckle (*shanjīl/shanjal*).[145] Another Ṣan'ānī word for a buckle on a belt is *ṣīwah.*

The dagger handle made of *Sayfānī* or *zurāf Sayfānī* which is mostly rhinoceros horn imported from Kenya, has certain properties—if a snake (*ḥanash*) bites you you take the handle of the Sayfānī dagger, and dip it in milk (*laban*) and put it on the wound (*ṣawb*) and it cures it. The horn dagger handle can be cleaned with a plant called *nuqum*[146] (in Ḥujariyyah, *'irsim*) which has violet flowers with a yellow centre and light green leaves with prickles in them. Dagger blades are re-polished by the *ṣayqal* (pl. *ṣayāqil*) who removes the rust. Al-Rāzī[147] alludes to a Masjid al-Ṣayāqil, possibly their mosque at a remoter time.

Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ghashmī (later President and assassinated in 1978) told me that if you wish to give an *'aqīrah* and have no animal to use for this sort of sacrifice you can resort to *kasr al-jihāz.* You break off the *tūzah* from the rest of the scabbard and hand it to the person to whom you are making the *'aqīrah.* Muḥammad al-'Ubaydī in fact positively stated that *kasr al-jihāz* in a tribesman's eyes was stronger than slaughtering an *'aqīrah.*

In Muslim law there are certain restrictions on the use of gold, silver and silk in men's apparel, but according to al-Murtaḍā[148] these are permissible at a time of pitched battles (*musāffah*). Silver and gold can be used to ornament bridles, girth-rings, and stirrups. Silver seal-rings (*khātam*), a gold nail for a bezel-stone (*mismār al-faṣṣ*) are permitted. Other instruments to which silver may be applied (*tafḍīḍ*) are the ferrule of a knife (*ḍabbat al-shufrah*), the pen case (*dawāt*), the hilt and handle of a sword and its shoe (*ḥadhw*) and rings, bridle, collar (*labab*) and straps (*thafar*) of horses. Gold-wash (*tamwīh*) is permissible, but this should not be applied to the ceilings or walls of a room.

135 *Nashr al-'arf,* II, 421.
136 Ibid, II, 766.
137 Section 3, iv.
For daggers see illustrations in J., Kirkman, ed., *City of Ṣan'ā',* London, 1976, 65, 71, 76. On p. 14, tribesmen are shown with daggers of Khawlān region.
138 It has been suggested that rhinoceros horn is used.
139 A proverb runs, *''Asīb-ih bi-shāwir idhn-ih,* His scabbard is speaking (secretly) in his ear.' It is used of a conceited person (*maghrūr bi-nafs-ih*). All turbaned (*mu'ammam*) persons, like the tribes and some merchants, use the *'asīb* in the sense of dagger with a scabbard and belt.
140 Cf. al-Khafanjī, in *al-Ṭarā'if al-mukhtārah,* ed. Aḥ. Sharaf al-Dīn, Cairo, 1970, 121, *ghilāf al-khanjar.*
141 Cf. Rossi, op. cit., 171, *turshah,* green coloured stone.
142 Cf. *munṭab* exactly like the *milqāṭ,* used for taking thorns out of the foot, or for plucking hair (*Tarjī'al-aṭyār,* 383).
143 As on the knife-handles shown in *City of Ṣan'ā',* 76.
144 Ibid, 71, at top. The function of the *sulṭah* is not clear—perhaps originally a silver buckle?
145 *Al-Amthāl al-Yamāniyah,* I, 208, no. 578, calls is *ibzīm.*
146 A plant of the Deadly Nightshade type.
147 *Tārīkh,* 221, 232.
148 *Al-Baḥr al-zakhkhār,* IV, 356-60. (K. al-Libās).